

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 0107

EXDIS

FOR SECRETARY KISSINGER FROM AMBASSADOR SCALI

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UN, KS, KN, CB

SUBJECT: KOREA AND KHMER

1. THERE WERE TWO ISSUES ON WHICH "NON-ALIGNED" LEADERSHIP DID NOT GET THEIR WAY IN 19TH GA: KOREA AND KHMER. WE AND OUR ALLIES AVOIDED DEFEAT BY A HAIR ON THESE ISSUES: TIE VOTE ON HOSTILE KOREA RESOLUTION AND A TWO-VOTE MARGIN ON KHMER. EVEN THESE "VICTORIES" WERE ACHIEVED ONLY BY ENORMOUS EFFORTS, INCLUDING VERY SUBSTANTIAL COSTS IN DIPLOMATIC CAPITAL AND CREDIBILITY. I WOULD CITE, FOR EXAMPLE, DEGREE OF PRESSURE WE HAD TO EXPEND IN CAPITALS, INCLUDING MORE THAN A DOZEN OF YOUR PERSONAL LETTERS. ROUNDING UP NEEDED VOTES ON THESE TWO ISSUES COMPLICATED OTHER SUBSTANTIVE BILATERAL MATTERS. E.G., WE HAD TO CHOOSE BETWEEN FRIENDS ON SPANISH SAHARA ISSUE TO ASSURE FAVORABLE VOTE BY MOROCCO ON KHMER THEREBY HARMING COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH SPAIN.

2. I WANT TO RECORD MY STRONG PERSONAL BELIEF THAT WITHOUT SOME REAL PROGRESS IN MOVING THESE ISSUES EITHER IN OR OUTSIDE THE UN, WE ARE ALMOST CERTAIN TO LOSE ON BOTH NEXT ROUND. BARRING UNFORESEEABLE FAVORABLE DEVELOPMENTS, GRUNK WILL PROBABLY REPLACE GKR, AND UN WILL VOTE A RESOLUTION CALLING FOR DISSOLUTION, WITHOUT CONDITIONS, OF UN COMMAND.

3. I NOW SEE NO WAY TO AVOID DEFEAT ON SEATING THE GRUNK--

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IF THAT IS WHAT CHINESE AND CERTAIN NON-ALIGNED CONTINUE TO WANT.

AS WE SEE IT, BOTH WILL PRESS THE ISSUE UNLESS PHNOM PENH GOVT ENJOYS A DRAMATIC MILITARY SUCCESS. OR, ALTERNATIVELY, UNLESS GKR HAS TAKEN STEPS TOWARD NEGOTIATIONS SO CREDIBLE THAT MANY OF AFRO-ARAB BLOC CAN JUSTIFY WITHHOLDING SUPPORT FOR GRUNK. WE HAVE HAD WARNING THAT MANY WHO VOTED WITH US THIS FALL THOUGHT IT WAS LAST TIME WE COULD COUNT ON THEIR SUPPORT ON THIS ISSUE.

4. ON KOREA, THERE IS EVIDENCE THAT THIS YEAR WE SQUEEZED THE LAST OUNCE OF SUPPORT LEFT FOR STATUS QUO ON UN COMMAND EVEN THEN ONLY BY STRONG ARM TWISTING. SINCE NORTH KOREA BEGAN PRESSING ITS POSITION TO A VOTE ALMOST A DECADE AGO, THE OPPOSITION HAS GRADUALLY GAINED SUPPORT. I FULLY EXPECT SUPPORT FOR UNCONDITIONAL DISSOLUTION OF UN COMMAND (THE HOSTILE RESOLUTION) WILL INCREASE TO MINIMUM OF 10-VOTE MAJORITY. THERE IS HARDLY A UN MEMBER, EVEN AMONG OUR TRADITIONAL ALLIES, THAT BELIEVES UN COMMAND CONTINUES TO HAVE A USEFUL ROLE TO PLAY. SIMPLY STATED, THEY ARE TIRED OF THE ISSUE, OF BEING LOBBIED BY BOTH SIDES AND OF HAVING TO TAKE A POSITION ON OPPOSING RESOLUTIONS ON WHAT THEY SEE AS AN IRRELEVANT RELIC OF THE COLD WAR. MORE AND MORE THE US AND ITS ALLEGED UNWILLINGNESS TO SEE SUBSTANTIVE CHANGE IS MADE THE CENTRAL ISSUE, WITH CONSEQUENT COST TO OUR GENERAL IMAGE.

5. THE ATTITUDE EXPRESSED BY AUSTRIA IN THE PLENARY LAST FALL AFTER KOREA VOTE IS NOT UNTYPICAL; PERMREP JANKOWITSCH WARNED THAT IF PARTIES CONCERNED DON'T GET UN COMMAND OUT, AUSTRIA WOULD TAKE INITIATIVE TO DO SO. WE WON THIS LAST ROUND BY MAKING LATE CONCESSIONS TO SAUDIS AND FRENCH, BUT THEIR AMENDMENTS CLEARLY DILUTED OUR POSITION. IT SEEMS TO US THIS IS ONLY A FORETASTE OF WHAT WE WILL FACE IN THE FUTURE.

6. WE SOUGHT AND OBTAINED LAST FALL GA AGREEMENT TO A RESOLUTION PLACING KOREA ISSUE IN CONTEXT OF SECURITY COUNCIL. JH MAY ENJOY CERTAIN SHORT-RUN ADVANTAGES IN SC FORUM. DESPITE SECRETARIAT OFFICIAL HERNDL'S PREDICTION TO THE CONTRARY, SOVIETS (THROUGH BYELORUSSIA) MAY NOT BE ANXIOUS TO HAVE THE COUNCIL PUT ITEM ON ITS JANUARY AGENDA. WE DOUBT ALSO THAT HUANG HUA WILL WANT TO TAKE IT UP DURING HIS PRESI-
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DENCY IN FEBRUARY. HOWEVER, THE FACT IS THAT WE NOW HAVE THE TEMPORARY ADVANTAGE OF A SITUATION WHEREIN THE ONLY RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY GENERAL ASSEMBLY IS A FRIENDLY ONE CALLING FOR ORDERLY MOVEMENT TOWARDS DISSOLUTION OF UN COMMAND. I HOPE AS A GOVERNMENT WE CAN TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE FACT THAT WE NOW HAVE THE UN COMMAND ISSUE BACK WHERE IT BELONGS, IN SECURITY COUNCIL. WHETHER WE MOVE WITHIN OR OUTSIDE SC, VISIBLE MOVEMENT IS INDISPENSABLE IF WE ARE TO AVOID MAJOR DEFEAT IN

NEXT ASSEMBLY.
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